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HOW TO
TREAT THE TRUSTS
AND HOW TO
WIN IN 1904

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BY
JOHN HAGGERTY

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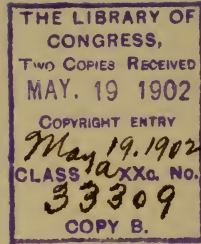
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HOW TO TREAT THE TRUSTS AND HOW TO WIN IN 1904.

ABOUT THE PLAN.

This plan for treating the trusts I call the Guarantee Plan, as it guarantees justice to every interest—to the consumer, to the trust worker and to the trust owner, while it prepares the way for the peaceful evolution of our economic system. Furthermore I expect this reform through the democratic party, although I propose to show that there is only one way, under the present conditions by which that party can be elected in 190

The Commoner says the democrats have submitted their plan and asks the republicans who are in power to submit theirs. I fear that our

republican friends will be rather backward in submitting any plan that would be satisfactory to the people, however satisfactory it might be to the trusts.* On the other hand the democratic plan frightened the trust workmen at the last presidential election, and as they held the balance of power in the three great states where trusts are most in evidence, they ran McKinley in, although I believe that most of them wanted to vote for Bryan. As the New York Journal said, "it was the trust issue that really cut."

*NOTE. Since writing the above President Roosevelt has recommended the Publicity idea in his message to Congress. It is a concession to public opinion which the author did not expect from a republican administration, and President Roosevelt is entitled to the credit for it.

TRUSTS.

A Kansas writer says that "everybody is talking about trusts and almost everybody is opposed to them. People don't understand what a trust is. They notice it when it gets very large and powerful but fail to see the same principle operating in the smallest business." Of course the principle is the same, whether on a large or small scale.

A trust is generally formed by uniting the manufacturers of the country in the same line, or enough of them to control their special trade into a stock company or corporation. Thus having virtually no competitors to contend with the trust can tax their customers what they choose for their goods. Sometimes several kindred trusts, like the American Steel Hoop Company, the American Steel and Wire Com-

pany, etc., combine into one big trust like the United States Steel corporation, capital over \$1,100,000,000. And the time may come when they will all be united into one national trust, owned by the people.

Call them what you will, trust, company or corporation, the reason for their existence is always the same, to avoid competition. Sometimes they utilize the old plants and factories and sometimes they build new ones, according to the nature of the business.

Thus the cracker trust would try to do all its baking in large plants with improved machinery, instead of in the old bakeshops. Trusts should be able to sell their goods cheaper than under the competitive system as they dispense with many of their drummers and other incidentals of competition. But there is watered stock that must earn dividends.

As an inducement to join the trusts, the owners of plants generally get more stock in the new corporation than their plants were worth.

Then the persons who formed the trust, called promoters, and the banks that "financed" it by advancing money, get their recompense in securities, and the public is taxed to pay dividends on the whole outlay.

This the people naturally object to.

WHAT STARTED THE TRUSTS.

When we know the conditions that lead up to the trust movement, we can judge better how to treat them. The big spectacular trusts are few, but the ordinary trusts of from ten to one hundred millions capital now exceed three hundred. And I can give my personal experience of over thirty years in daily contact with manufacturers whose plants are now mostly absorbed by the trusts. I am now retired from business, but was formerly in business in New York City as a plumber and manufacturer of designs and inventions of my own. And during all that time I knew and everyone in a mechanical line of business knew of agreements between manufacturers in the same line, to keep up prices that were continually being made and as continually being broken. Fines

for backsliding from the agreements were imposed by the associations, but all to no purpose. The desire to sell and the suspicion that their rivals were getting some of their trade away from them, always tempted some concern to cut prices secretly to make sales. Of course that soon got around to the others, and prices would tumble down and the merry war would begin again. Sometimes the delinquent would be summoned before the association and if pleading guilty when confronted with the evidence against him, would pay the fine, promise not to offend again and there would be no break in the harmony for a while.

About twenty-five years ago I was highly amused by a clock manufacturer's description of the circus his association had at a meeting, trying to get a member to confess to undercutting, which he fondly imagined was unknown to the society. Among the plumbers it was a standing joke about the agreements between the lead pipe manufacturers. When

they would notify us by mail that the price of pipe had advanced we would laugh and say to each other that they had made a new combination, which we knew would only last for a few months. And this was a continuous performance for years, until the trust promoters came along.

Another factor that helped to break the "agreements between gentlemen," was the personality of the owners or managers of the individual plants. Prices being the same custom would naturally gravitate to the concerns that observed the Golden Rule, and away from those that had nothing to arbitrate. Then during all these years inventors were busy perfecting machinery that enabled one plant to manufacture enough for two to dispose of; as the elder Vanderbilt said about the railroads, "that one trunk line could do the business of the four." And still the number of plants kept increasing faster than the demand called for. Consequently profits kept continually decreas-

ing, until just before the iron pipe manufacturers formed a trust I bought cast iron pipe at a discount of 80%, the list price, that originally started at 30%; that is I got pipe for twenty cents per foot that formerly cost seventy cents per foot. Then the jobbers, or supply dealers, as they are called, got an additional 10%, so that when the pig iron, labor, etc., was paid for, the profit left to manufacturers was scarcely perceptible.

An acquaintance who could not understand how pipe could be sold so cheap, asked a member of a manufacturing firm about it and was told that they had been selling pipe at cost for several years and tried to make it up in other articles in which there was less competition.

The firm failed afterwards. It was the same in brass goods, which, through competition was made so thin and of such poor quality, (too much zinc or spelter, and too little copper), that the Boards of health at last had to specify the weight of every article of brass, lead or iron

that was used in the sanitary part of plumbing of buildings under their supervision; while on the water supply fittings, there was one article so unfit for use, that I stopped buying it and had its equivalent made to order, when I wanted any, at three times the cost, and saved money in repairs at that.

When to such competition, bad debts were added—for they would take big risks to work off stock, it was not surprising to hear of the failure of this and that firm. A bookkeeper in a New York sales depot told me that of the notes they took from customers, they had one of them protested every day in the year. And this young man through working overtime almost every night, owing to insufficient office help, broke down mentally and lost his position. Several cases of break-down from overwork of male and female employes, are within my recollection. Competition may be the life of trade, but it is death to some of the workers.

And the history of manufacturing concerns,

has been the history of the railroads of the country. To earn dividends on their stock, (generally well watered,) they resorted to all kinds of "agreements," sometimes backed by fines to keep up the rates, but three-fourths of them have been in the hands of receivers at various times, until now through the "community of interest" plan they have no competition and can therefore fix and maintain rates. As George Gould says, "that ends rate cutting, secret rebates and other sneaking practices to get business."

It appears that it also begun the advance in rates in a quiet way. The community of interest plan is very simple. The stockholders of rival roads purchase stock in each other road. After that they are partners instead of rivals and no anti-trust or anti-pooling law can interfere with them.

We can imagine how the trust idea took shape.

If one firm or individual owned all the plants

in any line of manufacture, the firm or individual could fix the prices and terms to customers. Then why not unite the different firms and individuals into one big firm and accomplish the same result; mere agreements between them failed to keep up prices and consequently heroic methods must be adopted. I knew one concern that employed over a thousand men that was on the brink of failure when the trust promoters made their appearance. I was told it got \$300,000 in cash in part payment for its plant and that saved it. It had been running behind for several years through competition, and had tried reducing its expenses by substituting female for male employes in its office. Then it discharged its competent manager for a low priced, and (as experience proved) incompetent one, which of course made matters worse.

To my mind the manufacturers were forced into combinations through over competition.

While there has been a constant increase in

the introduction of labor-saving machinery, there has been no corresponding reduction in the hours of labor; hence production increases faster than consumption, and the effort to sell this surplus is the cause of over-competition. Even the great steel corporation was formed to avoid a competitive war between the trusts manufacturing specialities in steel. They were preparing to invade each others line of manufacture and give the country a Kilkenney cat exhibition when Mr. Morgan stepped to the front. The Iron Age says: "With one interest going into the manufacture of tubes and sheets, another threatening to invade the railmakers' field, a third getting ready to roll plates, a fourth preparing to build a large structural plant, a fifth about to roll and draw wire, there would not have been a single important branch which would have escaped the most savage competition."

And Rockefeller testifying before a congressional investigating committee in 1888, said:

“Finally the capacity for refining oil became greater than the market demanded. Each refinery was bound to get rid of its surplus product at any price, and the price of the surplus determined the price of the whole. Ruin stared them in the face, over-production must be curtailed.” The oil trust was the outcome.

But the trust could not have been successful without the aid of the banks. Bankers saw a perfectly safe and good paying investment by “financing” corporations of manufacturers that controlled the output of certain lines of staple goods throughout the country. They knew that the people must have flour and sugar and salt and other articles of necessity at almost any price, and mortgage bonds on such plants would be as good as government bonds while paying higher interest.

Still manufacturers were slow at taking hold of the trust idea. At first glance it looked rather complicated to succeed well, and might be like jumping from the frying pan into the

fire. And it was only when they saw the few venturous ones succeeding and when they were offered more for their plants in stocks or cash than they knew them to be worth, that their hesitation was overcome.

TRUST LABOR.

Another factor in the trust issue—the factor which must be consulted in any proposed treatment of the trust—is Trust Labor. What part did it play in the years leading up to the trust movement? Did labor act merely as cogs in the machinery of manufacture, or was it observant of all that was going on, and how was it affected? It certainly shared the ups and downs of its employers, and could not therefore be ignorant of the situation. An item of fact in an English paper of March 30, 1901, covers the ground better than any theory. It says: “The Board regulating the wages of the Scotch manufacturing iron trade has decided, that as there was a decline in the selling price in January and February equal to a 10% reduction of wages, such a reduction shall be made at

once." The fact is the condition of any concern cannot be concealed from its employes, and it is a duty they owe to themselves and their families to find out if possible the financial condition of their employers. I was in a sales-depot in New York once when the manager told several customers in the hearing of the office employes and store attendants that the firm had lost \$10,000 that year.

It may be taken for granted that labor in the mechanic arts knows from actual experience what the battle of life means both for labor and capital.

What then would be the rational attitude of labor towards the formation into trusts of the competing firms that it was working for?

Trusts could fix and maintain prices by co-operating instead of competing, and could therefore make wages reasonably secure. Would any consideration of keeping the competitive system alive be likely to influence their employes considering their experience under

competition? True the trusts struck the drummers hard, and some plants would be closed; but the work would have to be done somewhere.

Every new invention hits some class hard, but mechanics and operators have long ceased fighting the inevitable. Samuel Gompers was asked a few years ago, "What the attitude of organized labor would be toward the trusts?" And he replied, "That it would depend on the attitude of the trusts toward organized labor."

In plain words, if the trusts showed no disposition to cut wages, to increase the hours of labor, or to interfere with the unions, then organized labor had no fight with the trusts.

At present writing the great steel trust strike is on, but it is not half as bitterly contested as that of the machinists whose bosses are competing for business, but are combined to fight against shorter hours to their workmen. And every strike only strengthens labor's desire for public ownership as its only hope for justice. Trust capital and competitive capital benefit by

labor-saving machinery, but wont shorten the hours of labor. Public opinion, on the contrary, would cut down the hours as machinery saved labor. The unemployed is the weapon that is used against labor in the strike and the lock-out.

The democratic platform sympathized with the drummers and other labor rendered superfluous by the trusts, but I notice that among the bankers and the magnates who gathered at the New York republican headquarters on the night of election, to welcome the news of McKinley's election, were J. H. Lichman, G. M. W. of the K. of L. and J. L. Shipherd, president of the Commercial Travelers' Association.

Trusts have advanced prices, but the people have the ballots, and if 14,000,000 voters allow a few thousand trust magnates to rob them, they deserve to be robbed and scourged until they get a little fire into their blood. What did the Almighty give us brains for?

The fact that labor shared in the struggles

of its employers under competition makes it unreasonable to expect it to throw itself into the breach to restore competition. But an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory. An item from the Philadelphia, Pa., Times, stating that the window glass workers' union owns a "nice, large block" of the trusts' stock is a fairly conclusive argument against any desire of the workers to hurt that particular trust.

The Times says: "President Simon Burns, of the Window Glass Workers' association and general master workman of the K. of L., is also a director in the Window Glass company, (the trust) his organization owning a nice, large block of the trusts' stock."

Organized labor in general wants to see the trusts and railroads owned by the government, and for that reason can be counted on to help any movement tending in that direction, but opposing any movement looking backward. They know all about the past and are not in love with it. In fact the worst complication

may come from the opposite direction. The proposition of Manager Schwab of the steel corporation to give the workmen stock at a low figure, if carried out and followed up by all the trusts, would make it much harder to make them public instead of private monopolies. The Representative, of Minneapolis, Minn., says: "Organized capital will enter into a partnership with organized labor to delay public ownership and prolong the unequal and unjust distribution of wealth. This trust of organized capital and organized labor is destined to be the most dangerous trust of all, because it divides the labor vote." The Representative apparently does not rely much on trust labor to smash the trusts.

BACK AGAIN.

This brings us back to the Journal's assertion that "it was the trust issue that really cut" at the election of 1900. For it was plain that the democratic trust plank meant the destruction of the trusts. It says: "We pledge the democratic party to unceasing warfare in nation, state and city against private monopoly in every form." Nothing could be plainer. And we can imagine that the trust magnates and their friends were not slow to make the most of that threat, and to impress upon the minds of their employes the catastrophe that would engulf them all should Bryan be elected. In New York state great posters in flaming colors were placarded all over the state, predicting the destruction of the nation's business, and all sorts of disasters that would happen if Bryan should

be successful. The silver question frightened no one at the election of 1900, for the eastern states increased their democratic vote—New York by 90,000, and it only required 147,000 votes in New York, 100,000 in Illinois and 50,000 in Ohio to elect Bryan. And those are the states where trusts and trust workers are most in evidence. With others I foresaw the result, although hoping that anti-imperialism would pull Bryan through, and long before the convention met, I wrote a trust plank, proposing a receiver to run the trusts, which was indorsed by Mayor Jones of Toledo, and forwarded by him to the leading delegate from Ohio to the convention. But the platform committee appears to have regarded trusts as boils or carbuncles on the body politic which only required lancing to shrink and shrivel away. The trusts don't appear to be doing much shrinking just at present.

Even the wholesale grocers and dry goods houses are combining, and if the combinations

continue to increase there will certainly be 600 of them in 1904.

They may be destroyed in the meantime, but experience is contrary to that supposition. The Standard Oil trust has been in operation for over twenty years, and is now able to pay a yearly dividend of over forty millions a year on the original capital of ninety millions. And as every trust is practically a little czar in its own domain or specialty, with power to tax the people whatever it pleases for what they buy from it, failures should be the exception, not the rule.

Assuming that the trusts employ 5,000 men each on an average—and some of them employ over 50,000, and that there will be 600 trusts in 1904, there would be 3,000,000 employes opposed to any policy threatening their employment. Add to that the members financially interested in them, and it would make the prospects for the election of a party committed to their destruction very meagre indeed. More

especially as the trust voters hold the balance of power in states where a dozen votes more or less might decide from twenty to thirty-nine electoral votes.

Even the women and children employed by the trusts have relatives who would oppose any destructive policy aimed against them.

THE BISCUIT TRUST.

In the summer of 1899, I passed a great building some ten stories high and occupying three sides of a square in New York City. It inclosed a court yard in which were a large number of delivery wagons, like postal wagons. It was evidently built for some special manufacture. I was told that it was the biscuit trust and that another much larger factory was being built in the west. That set me to thinking. I assumed that there were hundreds of girls and children working there in addition to the men employed. And I wondered how the girls, especially, would take it when told that they would have to leave the fine factory, where they had plenty of light and fresh air, with the latest sanitary improvements required by the board of health in toilet and lavatories, warm in

winter and cool in summer, and go back to the cellars and rookeries, (if they still existed), where the individual concerns formerly made their crackers?

“Why should we have to leave?” “Because if the democrats win they will smash the trusts.” “And how about the republicans?” “Oh, they are all right, there wont be any trouble if they get in.” Naturally talks like this would be told to their relatives and friends, and it may be assumed that for every person working for a trust there will be one voter that will oppose trust smashing.

OPPOSED TO THE DEMOCRATIC TRUST PLANK.

Again it appears that a great number who supported Bryan in 1900, were not in sympathy with the party's trust plank. In May, 1901, five months after the election the New York Journal, which with the Chicago American and San Francisco Examiner, voices the sentiment of hundreds of thousands of Bryan supporters says: "The trusts organize admirably the great industries and prepare the day when all of these industries will be owned by the government—that is to say, by the people themselves. The trusts eliminate competition, which is a stupid, out-of-date form of barbarism, leading to cheating, thievery and adulteration."

There is no mistaking this language, and

that it expresses the voice of its readers, for the daily press does not lead, it reflects public opinion.

And it goes without saying that men who believe that trusts lead to public ownership, (as many republican papers admit,) and that competition leads to "cheating, thievery and adulteration," will not vote to restore competition at the election of 1904. It was anti-imperialism that upheld the democratic vote in 1900.

THE WAY OUT.

For the reasons above stated it would be next to impossible for the democrats to succeed in 1904 in the ordinary way. For they cannot reverse their policy of "unceasing warfare" against the trusts, without being called trimmers for office and demagogues, and that would knock them out. "What do I mean by the ordinary way?" I mean that if they construct their platform in the usual way, proposing warfare on the trusts, free trade on trust material, warfare on the tariff, etc., that they will go down with a crash. But if they will adopt Pingree's motto of giving the people what they want, they will win hands down.

How? Simply by making but one "demand"—direct legislation, in their platform,

the rest of the platform to be suggestions for solving the great questions of the day by a referendum vote, after the people have secured that right.

This commits the party to nothing except to give the people a chance to get what they want, and also that the democratic party is willing that the people should rule, practically as well as theoretically.

And the party that gives us a "government by the people" without any ifs or buts, will have no cause for regret. The Swiss people hardly ever change their representatives, but re-elect them term after term, although they sometimes veto their acts.

From the patroits standpoint, see what direct legislation would accomplish: It would make the republic immortal; no ambitious conspirator could destroy it as others have been destroyed; peace or war, and the honor of the nation would be in the hands of the people

under all conditions, and the great economic changes that will lead to a higher civilization would develop peacefully.

That the people want the referendum will hardly be disputed. Jefferson tried to get it into the Virginia constitution, and Lincoln wanted to settle the civil war by a direct vote of the people, north and south. Professor Parsons says: "Early in the war Lincoln made an effort to secure an arrangement that would terminate hostilities and settle the questions of union or disunion and slavery or no slavery by means of a direct vote of the whole people. Gentlemen were sent to talk with the president and secretary of the confederacy to see if an agreement could be made to go to the people with two propositions." But President Davis would not consent. Lincoln knew how to settle the great questions of the day. And Col. Bryan in explaining what democracy means says: "Democracy is not merely a party name. Democracy has a meaning. Democracy means

a government in which the people rule, and that is all we ask for. We are willing to submit any question that concerns the people of this country to the people themselves." And he believes that few outside of the aristocratic element of the nation will oppose it. He says: "It will not be opposed by any democrat who indorses the declaration of Jefferson, that the people are capable of self government, nor will it be opposed by any republican who holds to Lincoln's idea that this should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, representing the workers of the country, many of whom are republicans, on account of the tariff, says: "All lovers of the human family, all who earnestly strive for political reform, economic justice and social enfranchisement, must range themselves on the side of organized labor in this demand for direct legislation." Organized labor is solid for the

referendum and the Federation of Labor has proved its advantages by using it for years in the government of its own organization. And the party that is "willing to submit any question that concerns the people of this country to the people themselves," may be reasonably assured of its support: PROVIDED, that the party does not mix in with the demand for the referendum other planks that labor cannot support. For this plan does not ask the voter to indorse ten or twenty planks that he dislikes in a platform, when he really approves of but one or two. Nor does it drive a voter into supporting a party he dislikes, because of one distasteful, or he might think, ruinous plank, in the platform of the party he likes.

As Prof. Lecky, English member of parliament, says: "The referendum would have the immense advantage of disentangling issues, separating one great question from the many minor questions with which it may be mixed. Confused or blended issues are among the

greatest political dangers of our time." The professor is correct, not only is our present system liable to get the wrong party into power, but it is also "among the greatest political dangers of our time."

Fortunately the democrats had the courage to put direct legislation into their platform in 1900, and it would be poetic justice if the party that had the courage to indorse it then, should be carried into power to see that it was secured. Lincoln said to a friend in politics, "Keep close to the people for they will never deceive you."

[AS TO THE PLATFORM.]

After a suitable preamble, pointing out some of the drawbacks to getting the real public opinion on the important questions of the day by the present methods, and the advantages of the direct vote of the people to decide such questions, the platform might say:

“We therefore propose to secure Direct Legislation first, and then refer important questions, such as imperialism, the trusts, tariff and money questions to a referendum vote by the people.”

At present we simply suggest certain plans for solving such questions. Other parties can do the same, and any question can be brought before congress for debate and be submitted to a referendum vote when a percentage of the representatives or citizens petition for it.

On the imperial question we would ask a vote on whether we shall keep the Philippine islands, etc., * * or prepare their people for early independence under American Protection, (as called for in Massachusetts platform).

To solve the trust question we suggest two plans: One (something like that of the platform of 1900). The other the Guarantee Plan, which proposes a Secretary of trusts to run the trusts as a receiver runs bankrupt railroads and other corporations without cost to the government. He would fix the prices to consumers by allowing fair wages for a fair day's work to labor, and a fair interest to capital for actual investments. If the people want public ownership to follow, prices can be fixed to allow for a sinking fund to purchase the plants gradually.

To settle the tariff question we propose two plans—a tariff for revenue only, or, to fix the tariff rates by allowing labor fair wages for a

fair day's work, to be enforced by the government, and capital a fair interest on its plant.

On the money question, the great output of the gold mines and of exports during the last few years proves the quantitative theory of the democratic party to be correct, and shows that we can have continuous prosperity if we keep up a sufficient circulation.

Money changers benefit by a scanty circulation, but a referendum vote can offset their power over Congress.

Among the issues we favor and on which there is very little difference of opinion among the people are:

The Nicaraguan canal to be built and operated by the government.

Improvement of arid lands.

Chinese exclusion.

Liberal pensions to the soldiers and sailors entitled to them.

A sufficient navy equal in equipment to the best.

We are opposed to:

Militarism.

To a large standing army.

To government by injunction, etc.

Of course the issues may be more elaborate in detail, but the main idea of the referendum is what would count with the voters. If the principle involved and the details are ably presented, it would help the cause.

SOME REMARKS.

“Would it not be a pretty big contract for one man to run all the trusts?” No. Every corporation has its manager, who knows every detail connected with its specialty, and it would only be necessary for the secretary’s department to keep in touch with the manager’s office. The postoffice departments runs 70,000 post-offices, and the number of trusts will not be likely to exceed 1,000. In fact the head of a department does scarcely anything, everything being done by subordinates.

A sample order from the postoffice department to a postmaster in Kansas shows how the work is done:

Postmaster, Girard, Kansas:

Chance purchasers of second-class matter not

mailable at pound rates by publishers. Copies to subscribers for a series of issues and equal number of sample copies only are entitled to pound rates. This applies to the Appeal to Reason.

EDWIN C. MADDEN,
Third Assistant P. M.

Washington, D. C.

There is no indication in this order that the Postmaster General ever heard anything about it.

And Carnegie says that one man will soon fix all the railroad rates of the country.

Running the trusts or running the railroads of the country is no difficult problem today.

It is merely a matter of business organization.

And the magnates are making it easier every day. They are building better than they know.

As to getting trust prices down—every concern knows the actual cost of every article it makes, and if it can get its raw materials

cheaper it can sell its products cheaper. Squeeze the profits on water out of the raw material through all grades of manufacture, and the result would surprise the people. And agreeable surprise would be followed by increased consumption and greater opportunities for labor.

Officers of the Standard Oil company have testified that a gallon of refined oil costs less than three cents.

It is retailed here in Florida for twenty cents, or five gallons for ninety cents. And the big profits don't go to the retailer either. Surely a certain amount of the great profits of the oil trust could be put away for a sinking fund for public ownership, and still allow for a fair interest to the capital invested, and better wages and shorter hours for the labor employed than at present.

The New York Tribune, a strong pillar of republican policies, says that in New Zealand where the railroads are not only owned by the

state, but are nearly all built by the state, the wages of the employes average 30% higher than those paid on the railways of the United States. You can ride thirty miles there for ten cents.

THE MORAL RIGHT.

As to our moral right to take means to secure moderate prices, every state has laws to prevent usurers from collecting more than a certain rate of interest on loans, otherwise the money changers would have owned the earth long ago and the trusts will soon do so unless the people wake up. Public ownership would be an extension of the laws of Eminent Domain, whereby a railroad can take your property for its own use against your will, at an appraised valuation. The law recognizing that the general welfare takes precedence over private interests.

It may be said, it will be said, that the Guarantee Plan would lead to Socialism.

As to that, it will be found that the people who know enough to vote for direct legislation, will be perfectly able to take care of themselves.

NOT ALONE IN PLAN.

I am not alone in advocating a referendum vote to settle the trust and other great questions, or in thinking that direct legislation is the only salvation for the democrats in 1904. The Direct Legislation League, of Michigan, which covers the state pretty thoroughly with its literature, prints the following on the back of one of its tracts:

“TRUSTS.

When all is said—

All propositions discussed—

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO
ABOUT IT?

Trusts can and will control Boards, Commissioners, Legislatures and Courts.

The only thing they cannot control is
THE PEOPLE themselves.

Only by DIRECT LEGISLATION
can the people control the trusts.”

The tract is taken from the address of Dr. George H. Sherman, of Detroit, Mich., delivered before the National Anti-Trust Conference, Chicago, February 12, 1900. He says:

“In dealing with this problem of the trusts, we are really dealing with the great social prob-

lem, imperatively demanding to be solved. Who is to solve it? Is it to be solved by the people in its own interest, or by the owners of the trusts in their's? Shall we, as a people, retrace our steps in civilization, or advance? I believe in the people; I believe that majority rule is the only just rule, because what the majority wants suits the greatest number.

“The pressing need of the hour is a suitable vehicle by means of which the will of the people can make itself manifest. Direct Legislation would be that vehicle. I draw attention to the fact that the people are the only power able to solve this problem correctly. That every other means, whether by legislative, judiciary or executive efforts, must fail, because the tremendous power to be controlled will inevitably control the controller.”

IN A BAD PLIGHT.

A year later, Dr. Sherman, representing the Executive Committee of the National Direct Legislation League, says:

“The democratic party is certainly in a bad plight for a political issue if it does not seize the opportunity and push direct legislation to the front.

“It is the only issue that will keep all the factions together and prevent third party organizations.

“With D. L. as the only issue, the democratic party can win, but with nothing else.”

And that the referendum issue in the campaign of 1900 was beneficial to the party, with the workingmen strongly in favor of it, is proved by Mr. S. D. Williams, of Battle Creek, Mich., who ran for congress in his district. He

says: "I ran two hundred ahead of my ticket in this city. I attribute this to the strong sentiment of the workingmen of this city toward direct legislation. My own attitude on that question is so well known that many workingmen rendered me substantial aid on account of it." Not only voting but giving "substantial aid," would also be the record of labor in 1904, if the democratic leaders prove themselves equal to the occasion.

A FEW OPINIONS.

The Boston Daily Traveler says: "The idea is steadily gaining ground that the competitive system is wrong, and its evils have principally been borne by labor. As prices were demoralized, labor was oppressed." (The war tax on cigarettes was paid by reducing the wages of the cigarette girls.) "So far, the benefits secured by co-operation and consolidation have been grabbed by capital. And therefore, the next great step is close at hand. In some way these enormous savings by consolidation must be distributed among the people and not go into hands of the few men who manipulate the formation of these trusts. In other words, let the people control the trusts instead of the trust controlling the people."

CLERGYMEN'S OPINIONS.

Dr. George C. Lorimer, of Boston, formerly of Immanuel Baptist Church, Chicago, in a sermon said:

“I want tonight to recommend three great principles—first, popular ownership of commercial trusts; second, industrial co-operation, and third, popular control of public utilities. In my younger days I was dead set against municipal ownership, but I can close my eyes no longer. The city should own and control its streets. Some day you will own all public franchises. It is in the air. It is in the blood of the nation.”

The Rev. Josiah Strong warns us to beware of the demagogues. He says: “It is useless to plead that we are democratic and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is

among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth."

And he might have added that the aristocracy of wealth has ruled the country in the interests of wealth for the last forty years, and it will always be so as long as the people are deprived of their right to supervise and control the public business. Turning one set of rulers, (as they are called,) out of office and putting another set in at stated intervals is no remedy. No private firm could exist that had no control over its help except to hire them for two or more years.

A fair example of the workings of our present system was lately shown in Pennsylvania, where the 6% to 8% difference between the tariffs of the two great parties has given the republicans complete control of the state and city governments, and also of those supposed bulwarks of our rights, the courts.

The New York Journal says:

"The late raid on the streets of Philadelphia

is only one of a series of robberies that has left that city hardly anything to steal. A few years ago the municipality operated its own gas works. The gang turned them over to a private corporation. The People's Bank was looted and wrecked. Later, the Keystone Telephone company received a franchise worth millions, to sell or give away as it chose, with no return to the city. About the same time \$15,000,000 was voted for a water filtration plant, to be expended at the discretion of the mayor, with no check upon the outlay. The people of Philadelphia expect that all the money will be spent, but few of them hope to live to drink any filtered water.

“In New York, where one party is in control of the metropolis and the other of the state government, the people find some protection in playing off one set of politicians against the other. But in Pennsylvania the same gang is in power at Philadelphia and at Harrisburg. The governor, the legislature and the courts of

the state; the mayor, the councils and the courts of the city, the United States senators and most of the representatives in congress are parts of a single band of highwaymen. The governor and senate have just given charge of the banks of the state to a man whose record is described as that of "a faithless public servant, removed from the office of secretary of the commonwealth for violation of his oath; as the wrecker of the State Insurance company and beneficiary of an embezzlement of its funds; as the signer of false statements to the insurance department; as a party to fraudulent transactions with the People's bank; as a financial crook and a rascal."

But the most insidious enemy of republics is the flatterer. He fills the minds of the flats—a man who loses his head through flattery is certainly a flat—with boasts of the grandeur and wealth of the country, and the magnificent prospects before them and their children—to

day earning small wages, perhaps, tomorrow a national senator or possibly the president of the republic.

Carlisle and Froude, the English historians, say that republics must fail; why? because the people will always elect as their ruler the man who knows best how to flatter them, and the flatterer is never a statesman.

The trip of the administration to California suggests to Mr. Ambrose Bierce in the New York Journal, in imaginary conversation that hits off both sides to perfection:

“First American Sovereign—Hurrah! Hooray! Hurroo!

Second American Sovereign—What’s the matter with you?

F. A. S.—What’s the matter with me? What’s the matter with all of us? Don’t you see the president’s train? Don’t you hear him speaking from the rear platform?

S. A. S.—What’s to prevent?

F. A. S.—Nothing could prevent—not all the crowned heads of Europe, nor all the lick-spittle courtiers and servile subjects!

S. A. S.—No, nothin—just nothing at all—excepting personal self-respect and a decent sense of the dignity of American citizenship.

F. A. S.—What! You think it base and undignified to pay honor to the president's great office?

S. A. S.—It is easy to call it "honoring his great office." I believe we commonly do give the name of some virtue to our besetting vice. I observe that the president, too, honors our own great office by the most sickening flattery of the people every time he opens his mouth. His reasons are better than ours, for we really outrank him; his great office is of our own making and bestowal.

F. A. S.—Sir, you have no right to use such language of the ruler of the nation!

S. A. S.—It is "ruler" when you want an excuse to grovel; in your more austere moods

it is "servant of the people"—and that is his own name for the thing that he has the distinction to be. I don't cheer my butler, nor throw flowers at my coachman, nor crush the hand of my cook."

"Getting some protection" by "playing one set of politicians against the other," is a most humiliating admission of the failure of our present system.

The people must set the pace for the party that is somewhat in sympathy with them, as they did in 1896, if they would secure that equal and exact justice between man and man, which is the most beautiful conception that can possess the human mind.

July 4, 1901.

Following is a list of trusts, which would look as if everything in the way of manufacture had been covered in, but they keep on increasing. Sometimes, as in the case of the Billion Dollar trust and the tobacco interests, combining several plants that formerly were in

trusts of their own specialties. And the future tendency will be in that direction.

The trust magnates have no fear of destructive legislation, but admit, confidentially, that public ownership, is the logical outcome.

And they prefer that risk rather than the risks of competition. Some of the richest New Yorkers now have their daughters attend a school there which teaches the latest economic theories, thus preparing them for the inevitable.

'Acetelyne—Union Carbide Co...	\$6,000,000
Acme Process Co.....	3,000,000
Acme Process Patent Co....	2,000,000
Acme Storage Battery and Mfg. Co.....	5,000,000
'Air—International Air Power Co.	25,000,000
Continental Compressed A. P. Co.	15,000,000
Liquid Air Refrigeration and P. Co.....	10,000,000
Eight Compressed Air Co...	100,000,000
'Alcohol	5,000,000
Manhattan Spirit Co.....	5,000,000

Alkali—American Alkali Co.....	\$30,000,000
Asphalt	3,140,000
Asphalt Company of America	30,000,000
Barber Asphalt Co.....	
American Railway Co.....	25,000,000
American Power & Transportation Co.	
American Switch Co.....	11,000,000
American Sterilized Air Co.....	5,000,000
Alabama Consolidated Coal and Iron	
Automobile Co. of New York....	200,000,000
Bay State Gas Co.....	100,000,000
Buffalo City Gas Co.....	7,000,000
Baking Powder—Royal	20,000,000
Barbed Wire	10,000,000
Beef—Swift & Co.....	15,000,000
Consolidated Packing Co....	5,000,000
Northwestern Beef Co.....	13,600,000
Dressed Beef & Provision Companies	102,000,000
Brass Founder's Machine Co.....	6,000,000
Brakes—New York Air Brake Co.	10,000,000
Brass—American Brass Co.....	20,000,000
Brewers—Boston 'Breweries' Co..	11,500,000

Brewers—*Continued*:

Pittsburg Brewing Co.....	\$20,000,000
Chicago and Milwaukee.....	60,000,000
American Malting Co.....	26,050,000
New York Combination.....	50,000,000
Brick—American Brick Co.....	10,000,000
Bridge Builders	40,000,000
Bronze and Brass Combination....	5,200,000
Bicycles—American Bicycle Co..	80,000,000
Bleachery	10,000,000
Books—American Book Co.....	5,000,000
United States Book Co.....	3,250,000
Boilers—Boiler Makers' Union (over 150 concerns).....	35,000,000
Bolts—American Bolt & Nut Co..	10,000,000
Boats—Great Lakes Towing Co..	4,000,000
Electric Boat Co.....	10,000,000
Borax—Pacific Coast Borax Co..	2,500,000
Consolidated Borax Co.....	12,250,000
Broom Mfgs.' Association.....	10,000,000
Burial Cases—National Casket Co.	10,000,000
Western Combination	28,000,000
Eastern Burial Co.....	4,000,000
Brushes—Ohio Co.....	2,000,000
Carbon—National Carbon Co.....	10,000,000
Candle, Cleveland	3,000,000

Cars—American Car & Foundry	
Co.	\$60,000,000
Pressed Steel Car Co.....	25,000,000
Consolidated Steel Car Co..	18,000,000
Cartridges—Ammunition Mfgs.?	
Association	4,000,000
Ammunition Ordnance Co...	2,500,000
Carpets—National Carpet Co....	50,000,000
Capsules—Compressed Air Capsule	
Co.	13,500,000
Chain—Union Steel & Chain Co..	60,000,000
Chain Mfgs.' Association...	3,000,000
Caramels—American Caramel Co.	5,000,000
Carriages—General Carriage Co..	20,000,000
Central Foundry Co.....	14,000,000
Century Development Co.....	10,000,000
Cereals—Hecker, Jones, Jewell	
Milling Co.....	33,000,000
Cellulose—Marsden Co.	32,672,000
Celluloid Co.	8,000,000
Chewing Gum American Chicle Co.	9,000,000
Chemicals—Pharmaceutical Mfg.	
Co.	50,000,000
Cement—Continental Cement Co.	10,000,000
International Cement Co....	25,000,000

Chairs—Manufacturing Co.....	\$20,000,000
Coal—Colorado Fuel & Iron Co..	20,000,000
Montana Coal & Coke Co...	5,000,000
Mississippi Valley Coal & Coke Co.	80,000,000
Reading Coal Co.....	150,000,000
Virginia & Tennessee Coal Co.	15,000,000
Soft Coal Combination.....	64,000,000
Tennessee Iron & R. R. Co..	21,000,000
Pittsburg. Co.	11,000,000
J. P. Morgan Combination...	889,000,000
Copper—International Copper Co.	400,000,000
Anaconda Copper Mining Co.	30,000,000
Amalgamated Copper Co....	100,000,000
Ingots Mfg. Co.....	20,000,000
Syndicate	50,000,000
Cotton Baling—American Cotton Baling Co.....	
Duck	10,000,000
Yarn	80,000,000
Cordage	35,000,000
Crackers—Continental Cracker Co.	10,000,000
U. S. Biscuit Co.....	55,000,000
Crockery—American Pottery Co..	27,000,000
Dyewoods—U. S. Dyewood & Ex- tract Co.	10,000,000

Drugs—National Association of	
Wholesale Druggists.....	\$25,000,000
Edison Portland Cement Co.....	11,000,000
Electric Storage Battery Co.....	18,000,000
Electric Ship Co.....	10,000,000
Electric Light & Power Co.....	50,000,000
Electric Light, Heat & Power Co.	25,000,000
Electric Company of America...	25,000,000
Electricity—Columbia Electric	
Lighting and Power Co....	10,000,000
American Heating Co.....	10,000,000
General Electric Co.....	54,000,000
National Electric Co.....	25,000,000
Westinghouse Electric & Mfg.	
Co. of New Jersey.....	20,000,000
Columbia Electric Car Light-	
ing & Brake Co.....	10,000,000
Electrical Supply Co.....	10,000,000
Electrotypers of New York.....	5,000,000
Elevators—Otis Elevator Co.....	10,000,000
Western Elevator Association	
(grain)	15,000,000
Envelopes—The U. S. Envelope	
Co.	5,000,000
Engines—Steam	25,000,000

Fertilizer—American Agricultural	
Co.	\$40,000,000
Virginia & Carolina Chemical	
Co. N.	10,000,000
Fish—A. Booth & Co., (48 fish and	
oyster plants)	5,500,000
Pacific American Fisheries...	5,000,000
American Fisheries Co.	10,000,000
Fire Clay & Sewer Pipe Corpora-	
tion	20,000,000
Flour—U. S. Flour Mill Co.	75,000,000
Fruit—Boston Trust Co.	10,000,000
U. S. Fruit Co.	20,000,000
Furniture—American School Fur-	
niture Co.	12,000,000
Gas—New Amsterdam Gas Co..	23,000,000
Consolidated Gas Co. of New	
York	36,000,000
Newark Consolidated Gas Co.	6,000,000
Brooklyn Union Gas Co.	15,000,000
Central Union Gas Co.	24,000,000
Philadelphia National Gas Co.	12,000,000
People's Gas Light Co. of	
Chicago	30,000,000
People's Gas & Coke Co.	8,000,000

Gas—*Continued*:

Essex County Gas Co. \$50,000,000

Gas Fixtures—American Gas Fix-

ture Co. 15,000,000

Glass—American Window Glass

Co. 17,000,000

Eastern Glass Co. 12,000,000

Flint 8,000,000

Pittsburg Glass Co. 10,000,000

U. S. Glass Co. 4,000,000

Gloves 20,000,000

Glucose—Sugar Refining Co. 37,000,000

U. S. Glucose Co. 5,000,000

Glue—U. S. Glue Co. 35,000,000

Granite ware, (four plants) 20,000,000

Havana Construction Co. 20,000,000

Havana Electric Railway Co. 10,000,000

Harrows—National Harrow Co. 2,000,000

Hard Rubber—American Hard

Rubber Co. 2,500,000

Harvesters—Corn 50,000,000

Helvitin Copper Co. 5,000,000

Horse Shoes 7,000,000

Ice—American Ice Co. 90,000,000

Consolidated Ice Co. 10,000,000

Indigo—Egyptian Compressed Co. 15,000,000

International Car Wheel Co.....	\$15,000,000
Ink—Printing Ink Co.....	20,000,000
Insurance—New England Insurance	
Exchange (84 companies) ..	58,000,000
Jewelry Combination	25,000,000
Knit Goods Co.....	20,000,000
Lamp Chimney Corporation.....	2,000,000
Lasts—American Last Co.....	3,500,000
Lead—National Lead Co.....	29,000,000
Leather—American Hide & Leather	
Co.	60,000,000
Patent Leather Trust.....	25,000,000
U. S. Leather Co.....	125,000,000
Life Preservers—Anderson Safe	
Float Co.	15,000,000
Light—Kern Incandescent Gas	
Light Co.	12,000,000
United Lighting & Heating	
Co.	12,000,000
National Light & Power Co.	15,000,000
Pennsylvania Manufacturing	
Light & Power Co.....	15,000,000
Street Lighting Co.....	12,000,000
Lumber—Carriers' Association ...	6,000,000
Trust	40,000,000

Lumber—*Continued*: •

Central Lumber Co. of California	\$70,000,000
North Carolina Association..	20,000,000
Weyerhauser Syndicate	13,000,000
Malt—American Malting Co.....	26,000,000
Marble—U. S. Marble Trust.....	20,000,000
Manufactured Rubber Co.....	6,000,000
Matches—Diamond Match Co.....	15,000,000
Mattress Manufacturers' Association	21,000,000
Mexican Coal & Coke Co.....	5,000,000
Mexican Land Co.....	6,000,000
Milk—Chicago Co.	10,000,000
Condensed Milk Co.....	15,000,000
New England Dairy Co.....	30,000,000
Borden's Condensed Milk Co.	20,000,000
New York & New Jersey Co.	15,000,000
Mirrors—Mirror Manufacturers'	
National Tin Plate & Stained Ware Co.	20,000,000
New York Vehicle Transportation Co.	25,000,000
Needles—International Needle Co.	3,000,000
New England Cotton Yarn.....	11,000,000
Niles-Bement Powder Co.....	8,000,000

North Star Mines Co.....	\$5,000,000
Oil—American Cotton Oil Co....	34,000,000
Cotton Seed Co.....	6,500,000
National Linseed Oil Co.....	33,000,000
New Jersey Standard Oil Co.	10,000,000
Standard Oil Co.....	97,000,000
Oyster Trust	5,000,000
Pipe—American Sewer Pipe Co..	25,000,000
Federal Sewer Pipe Co.....	23,000,000
<i>Paper</i> —International Paper Co.....	55,000,000
Tissue	10,000,000
National Wall Paper Co....	35,000,000
Union Paper Co.....	3,000,000
Union Bag & Paper Co.....	27,000,000
Perfume Association	25,000,000
Peanuts	5,000,000
Pennsylvania Sugar Refining Co..	8,000,000
People's Realty & Finance Co....	10,000,000
Pipe—Federal Sewer Pipe Co...	23,000,000
Globe Sewer Pipe Co.....	6,000,000
National Pipe & Tube Co.....	11,000,000
U. S. Cast Iron & Foundry Co.	74,000,000
Somer Pipe Co.....	25,000,000
Pitch Trust	10,000,000

Plumbers' Supplies — American	
Plumbers' Supply & Lead	
Co.	\$35,000,000
Central Foundry Co.	14,000,000
Powder—International Smokeless	
Powder & Dynamite.	10,000,000
Prints—Print Cloth Pool.	50,000,000
Pumps—International Steam Pump	
Co.	30,000,000
Radiators—American Radiator Co.	10,000,000
Railways—General Co.	10,000,000
Refrigerators—Electric Axle Light	
& Power Co.	25,000,000
Reynolds Tobacco Co.	5,000,000
Ribbon—Silk Ribbon Trust.	12,000,000
Ricker Electrical Vehicle Co.	7,000,000
Rolling Stock—American Railway	
Equipment Co.	22,000,000
Rope—Standard Rope & Twine Co.	12,000,000
Rubber—Rubber Goods Mfgs.'	
Co.	50,000,000
U. S. Rubber Co.	47,000,000
Safes	17,500,000
Salt—National Salt Co.	12,000,000
Sewing Machines—American Ma-	
chine Co.	10,000,000

Screws—National Screw Co.....\$10,000,000
 Ships—American Ship Building Co. 20,000,000
 Shingles—Manufacturers of Wash-

ington 5,000,000

Shoe Machinery 25,000,000

Shoes—Royalty Goods..... 20,000,000

Silk—Ribbon Combination..... 30,000,000

Stoves—Standard Gas Stove &

Mfg. Co. 5,000,000

Stoves and Ranges—Cast Iron &

Steel 75,000,000

The U. S. Steel Corporation

covers in up-to-date, 9 steel

trusts, besides owning iron

and coal mines, railroads

and lake and ocean steam-

ships to transport its output

in this country and to

Europe. Its capital is now

placed at.....\$1,500,000,000

The 9 combines are:

American Steel & Wire

Co., employing..... 24,000 men.

American Tin Plate Co.,

employing 25,000 men.

The 9 combines are:—*Continued*:

American Sheet Steel Co., employing.....	22,000 men.
American Steel Hoop Co., employing.....	14,000 men.
American Bridge Co., employing	20,000 men.
Federal Steel Co., em- ploying	16,000 men.
National Steel Co., em- ploying	8,000 men.
National Tube Co., em- ploying	20,000 men.
Carnegie Co., employing	50,000 men.

Total199,000 men.

The other steel trusts are:

Steel—American Steel Co.....	\$50,000,000
Republic Iron & Steel Co....	55,000,000
Park Steel Co.....	10,000,000
American Steel & Iron Co...	20,000,000
Bethlehem Steel Co.....	15,000,000
Cambria Steel Co.....	16,000,000
Steel Beams Association.....	20,000,000
Rails, Manufacturers' Associa- tion	50,000,000

Sedantine Chemical Co.....	\$15,000,000
Severy Process Co.....	7,000,000
Snuff—Atlantic Snuff Co.....	10,000,000
Sugar—American Beet Sugar Co.	19,000,000
Sugar—American Sugar Refining Co.	75,000,000
Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co.	10,000,000
Tanneries—American Hide & Leather Co.	60,000,000
Telegraph—Western Union Tele- graph Co., has 22,000 offices	97,000,000
Telephones—American Bell Tele- phone Co.	75,000,000
Threshing Machines	75,000,000
Thread—American Thread Co....	12,000,000
Scott-Janney Electric Co.....	30,000,000
Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron.....	20,000,000
Angle-American Thread Co..	18,000,000
Tires—Consolidated Rubber Tire Co.	10,000,000
Tinware—National Enameling & Stamping Co.....	30,000,000
Twine—American Grass & Twine Co.	15,000,000

The tobacco interests are now combining into one corporation, the trusts controlling special branches of tobacco manufacture. They are:

Tobacco—American Tobacco Co..	\$73,000,000
Continental Tobacco Co.....	100,000,000
Tobacco and Cigars—Havana	
Commercial Co.	20,000,000
United States & Havana Cigar	
Co.	15,000,000
Typewriters—Union Typewriter	
Co.	18,000,000
Varnish—U. S. Varnish Co.....	36,000,000
Vehicles—General Carriage Co...	20,000,000
N. Y. Electric Vehicle Co...	25,000,000
N. Y. Auto Truck Co.....	10,000,000
New England Electric Vehicle	
& Transportation Co.....	25,000,000
The Philadelphia Auto Truck	
Co.	10,000,000
Illinois Electric Vehicle Trans-	
portation Co.	25,000,000
Woods Motor Vehicle Co....	10,000,000
Wharves—Brooklyn Wharf &	
Warehouse Co.....	12,500,000

Wheels—Car Wheels Co.....	\$15,000,000
Whiskey—American Spirits Mfg. Co.	35,000,000
Kentucky Distilleries & Ware- house Co.	32,000,000
Standard Distilling & Dis- tributing Co.	24,000,000
The distilling companies are now consolidating into one corporation.	
Worsted—The U. S. Worsted Co.	70,000,000
Woolens—American Woolen Co..	65,000,000

There is talk of a billion dollar cotton seed oil trust, and the formation of others is going on steadily. Ex-Speaker Tom Reed has just organized the Oil Cloth trust; capital, \$10,000,000.

It shows he has little fear that his share of the profits for his services will be jeopardized by the “unceasing warfare” of the democrats. And when we consider the enormous capital, the extent of the plants, with the labor necessary to operate them in the above list and what it will be three years hence, most of us would be

inclined to agree with the New York Sun, that smashing trusts would be a very dangerous operation for the country.

The Commoner of July 26, 1901, commenting on the plutocratic methods of threatening panics if the people refuse to indorse their policies, quotes from the Sun as a sample:

“‘We demand the suppression of all trusts.’ There is a monstrous proposition. Were there any way of carrying it into effect industrial disaster more widespread and ruinous than has ever fallen upon the country would be the result. There would be a commercial cataclysm. The amount of capital and of labor dependent upon these combinations is so vast that to crush them would be to bring on unparalleled economic calamity compared with which the free coinage of silver would have been a fly bite.”

As to the danger from free coinage of silver, the Sun, while opposed to it in 1896, was honest enough to admit that it was absurd to say it would bring on disaster.

The Ohio platform of 1901, says the trusts must be destroyed to save the people from Socialism, which means of course, the horrors of public ownership of the trust. This is long-headed statesmanship. As the Commoner says, the Ohio platform is "a little timid" on national questions; but it demands a referendum vote on franchises.

That is encouraging, for surely the party that favors a referendum vote on franchises, cannot very well refuse the people a referendum vote on trusts.

As Col. Bryan says: "That is all we ask for."

The people know what they want, if they could only get a chance to vote for it, but compelling them to decide twenty or more questions with one vote, does not give them a chance.

“STRICT CONSTRUCTIONISTS.”

Democrats call themselves strict constructionists of the Constitution. To the mass of the people, the people who do the work of the country, this is “interesting, but not important.” They know how strictly the Constitution and the laws are construed by the “injunction judges” in any attempt of labor to secure a more equitable share of the benefits derived from the great inventions and great natural resources of the country. Labor-saving inventions under our present system do not shorten their hours of labor, but throw men out of employment, while one of the latest inventions—government by injunction—deprives them of the right to speak to their competitors for work, who are flocking from all parts of the world to take their places. Other repressive and oppressive methods of the most

scandalous description are resorted to by the Dogberrys of the bench, who are sometimes relatives of the bosses and partners in their plants. Strict construction, the decisions of the courts, from the highest to the lowest, have for years been regarded by labor with the most perfect indifference or the most profound contempt.

But there is one court the workers know they could appeal to and get justice. Hence we find congressional candidates who are known to be advocates of direct legislation, running ahead of their tickets, and workingmen rendering them "substantial aid on account of it," while Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, despairing of any amelioration of labor under the present system, appeals to the instincts of humanity in the citizen to help secure that improvement in our system that would bring an end to the bloodshed and the starvation of the strike and the lockout, and

secure justice to all. As previously quoted, he says:

“All lovers of the human family, all who earnestly strive for political reform, economic justice and social enfranchisement, must range themselves on the side of organized labor in this demand for direct legislation.”

Here is the party's chance. So far, it has kept the mechanical and the agricultural workers of the country apart, to its own loss. But on this issue they could combine. There is no threat to either class of workers in direct legislation. Instead, it means everything to them, as President Gompers' language clearly indicates. And what citizen who is worthy of the name of citizen, would oppose it?

None but the plutocratic element would oppose it. The year 1904 should be an epoch making year.

LORD BYRON SAYS:

The history of man, according to Byron, has always moved in a circle. "First liberty, then glory, after that wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last. And history with all her volumes vast hath but one page."

The Swiss people broke through this sinister circle at last by the simple plan of taking the power to veto or approve legislation, into their own hands.

About twenty years ago I asked, have we brains enough to break the circle? Again I ask, have we brains enough?

Who should lead in the movement? Necessarily those who are its leading advocates. And the man who has brought direct legislation most prominently before the people, the man who was delegated to bring it before the platform

committee of the national Democratic convention of 1896, and who I believe was instrumental in getting it and the other progressive planks into the platform of 1900, should be the commander-in-chief. Who is he?

Ask the Commoner.



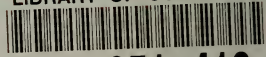


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